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853 body. The mother supports the baby with her lower arm, and with the cupped hand of her other arm she sometimes inclines his little head against her breast. To begin with, she puts her index finger into the baby's mouth and then immediately shoves her nipple in. The Fuegian little ones suck with the same eagerness as their European counterparts (150). A woman who has given birth

150. Hyades (q):194 once observed a young mother on the fifth day after her confinement press a few drops of milk out of her breast and let them fall into the fire. In July, 1924, Fred Lawrence assured me that this was an isolated act on the part of the woman.

for the first time learns from her women neighbors how often during the day and for how long she should nurse her child. A year-old child who can stand up alone often reaches with his little hand for his mother's breast when she is squatting on the ground, and he drinks standing up. All Fuegian women nurse their little ones for a long time. Bridges (a):183 asserts that "children are not weaned
853 early. It often happens that two children of different births are
•862 being suckled at the same time" /cited in English/. On the average, they are not weaned until their second year, depending on whether the mother can also feed the youngest which has meanwhile arrived (151).

151. Despard (b):698 exaggerates absurdly in his assertion that children are nursed by their mothers "even to six years of age" /cited in English/. Hahn (a):806 correctly says that they "nurse the infants until the age of two and sometimes a child is not weaned until the appearance of another who succeeds him at the breast" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):195 increases this to three years.

862 Naturally, they also teach the child, after about four months, to take a pacifier as well as its mother's breast, so that it will

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862 gradually /720/grow accustomed to another diet. Such a pacifier, ušlĕmĕški, is nothing more than a piece of fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, ślakuš (Tachyeres brachypterus), as long as a finger and thick enough so that the child cannot swallow it. The fatty tissue of this duck is chosen because it is particularly tasty and full of liquid. Before it is given to the child, it is roasted at the fire to a light brown. It is replaced at least once a day. The babies do not present a very clean appearance with this pacifier, because the liquid fat smears the entire face, chest, and both little hands, but there is nothing better to be had in Tierra del Fuego. In later months the baby is given a juicy little piece of meat of this same duck, the size of a finger and slightly roasted. This is the only baby food, for it is scarcely possible to obtain milk from a guanaco, and there are no other milk-giving animals. Like their neighbors on Isla Grande (Vol. I, 378), the Yamana women of today cannot decide to give their darlings the milk of cows or goats or the condensed milk introduced by the Whites.

853 736 The Yamana take it for granted that only the mother nurses her own child. It would never occur to her to place the child at the breast of another woman. Of course, if she is constantly sick and incapable of nursing, or if she dies, the child is taken by another woman and she alone feeds it. Nelly told me: "It is not good for the child to drink alternately from this or that woman." Every Indian woman, however, is glad to help out in an emergency, especially if the baby suddenly becomes an orphan (152), and, as

> 152. This alone is the meaning of Bridges' (i):21 and (h):208 words: "In the absence of the mother any other woman would feed the child rather than let it suffer" /cited in English/.

Dabbene (b):190 quite rightly says: "If the mother dies, some woman friend of hers assumes responsibility for the orphan" /translated from Spanish/.

862 Long before the final weaning takes place, the child sucks only occasionally and is nourished chiefly with the meat-pacifiers mentioned above. Then, as Nelly confessed to me, the mother smears her breast thickly with whale blubber, the taste of which is very

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862 disgusting to the baby, and after that it stays away from its mother's breast. If they should not happen to have whale blubber, they use that of sea lion which has the same effect. After that the mother supervises what the child eats for only a short time. Bridges (a):183 says: "The food first given to children is muscles /sic/, fish, and berries" /cited in English/ (153), but for a long time the chief food

153. Hyades (q):195 likewise confirms that "the Fuegian women soon commence to add to their diet, without weaning them completely, solid food, such as baked mussels, fish, etc." /translated from French/.

is the roasted fatty tissue of the loggerhead duck, álakuš. Of course, the infant sometimes stuffs indigestible things into its mouth if it is not closely watched, but even if it swallows them, there are hardly ever serious consequences to be feared.

271 853 The young mother does not give the newborn child water from a /721/ brook to drink, but that taken from lagoons and ponds. The former is considerably colder and could, it seems to me, often cause colic. The Yamana give a different reason. Nelly told me that, at her husband Fred's suggestion, she gave her first-born daughter water from a brook near Punta Remolino. Her father who had more experience than Fred saw this. He told her, "Water from [753] a brook causes worms in the belly of the child; all kinds of little animals swim around in such water. You must get water from a lagoon, that is better for the child and will keep him well!" With her other children Nelly followed this advice. She concluded with words that showed her displeasure toward her husband Fred: "Yes, indeed, the Christians [Europeans] have much less experience in such matters than my countrymen!"

231 In Hahn (a):806 we read: "The Fuegians, according to Mr. Bridges, often suckle young dogs" /translated from French/. With regard to this I learned that very rarely and only playfully a woman will put a young puppy that is sick or has lost its mother to her breast to keep it alive.

827 833 I was unable to learn whether our Yamana are acquainted with the physiological connection between conception and nursing in the same woman. Actually, the two spouses unite sexually on

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854 is no longer regarded as necessary. Outwardly this becomes evident in that the baby is kept less clean. The little creature is given complete freedom to roll about on the ground and in the hut, to dig in the ashes and the grass, to touch everything and put it in its mouth. If the rain and the unconscious, purely mechanical rubbing on gravel and grass did not remove a considerable part of the encrusted dirt, things would be pretty bad for the little ones! Some mothers, it is true, wash and clean them often; Walter's little daughter was always neat as a doll and was carefully tended. Other women apparently did not even see the thick layer of dirt on their children. As long as it is absolutely necessary,
853 the mother prepares the bits of food for her darling every day and
• 862 sees to it that he eats only easily digested food, but she soon lets him make his own choice without giving him much instruction. Instinctively he chooses food that best agrees with him. Occasionally, however, he puts less suitable pieces into his mouth and must pay for it with slight digestive upsets.

854 The unobstructed freedom of movement that is permitted babies on /734/ land has been fairly earned by their motionlessness dur-
145 ing the long and constant canoe trips. It may seem incredible, but it is true that, except for slight, brief movements, they stay for hours just as their mother has set them down, without kicking or rolling over. The mother has just as little trouble with the child who rides on her back while she wanders about and attends to her work, or whom she holds in her arms or has lying on her lap. The child does not think of wriggling out of position, fussing, and crying, as one often sees European children doing. He lies there all by himself, quietly happy, entertaining himself with whatever his little eyes take in or his little fingers touch. He would never dream of yelling loudly if the mother walks off or to cry anxiously if he is left alone. Under certain circumstances Fuegian babies behave as though they had mature judgment or were constantly exercising much patience. Without doubt the adult environment influences the little ones, for loud shouting and vehement speech are much less customary among our Fuegians than among their neighbors to the northwest and northeast. I do not claim however, to have given an exhaustive explanation for this phenomenon.

145 The extraordinarily quiet and gentle behavior of the child has
856 an overwhelming effect on its speech development. For months he

844 herself and the infant in the sea, and the mother usually took sea baths for some days thereafter. For some time before and after a child's birth the mother and father observed certain food and other taboos. A form of couvade obtained, especially in the case of a first [846] child, the father remaining quiet in the tent and abstaining from most work for some days while relatives and friends supplied the family with necessities. The placenta was burned; the navel cord, dried and kept.

Marital relations were avoided for about 6 weeks or more after [862] delivery. Weaning ordinarily took place after 10 to 15 months, but in some cases not until a good deal later. The child was commonly [555] named after its birthplace.

861 **Education.**—Corporal punishment was rare. Severer correction was ordinarily verbal, or else took the form of sending the child out of the hut for the day. A great deal of moralizing counsel was given the growing child by elders, counsel not always received with eager alertness by him, to judge from one of the instructions stressed in the initiation rite; viz, to listen attentively to what his elders told him even when the sermon was long drawn out. The sexes were kept separated after about the 7th year.

841 881 **Girls' puberty observances.**—At her first menses, the girl fasted, eating little or nothing, for 3 days. Both cheeks from the eyes down were painted with red radiating streaks. Older women gave her much moral counsel. On the 8th or 10th day she bathed and washed in the sea. At the end, a feast was given to all the members of the group.

881 **The čiéxaus initiation rite.**—This rite (Koppers, 1924, pp. 45–95; Gusinde, 1937, pp. 805–961), for both boys and girls together, and actively participated in by all their elders who had previously been initiated, was the most important native ceremony, the focal point, in a sense, of their religious life, a dynamic stay of social order and solidarity. It was likewise an intensive training course, constituting the climactic event in the native educational system.

This initiation rite, the čiéxaus, under the auspices, it seems, of the local group, rather than of the dialectic division or whole *Yahgan* tribe, was held not at stated seasons or intervals, but as need or occasion arose, yearly or more or less often than yearly. It could last from several days to several months. The candidates were boys and girls who had reached puberty.

The chosen officers in charge of the rite were a leader, a mentor, and guards. A special large hut, of oval beehive or conical construc- [346] tion, was used, with simple decorations in the way of red, white, and black painting on the framework inside and similarly painted oblong boards hung up. Each participant wore a special diademlike feather